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JPRS L/9586

4 March 1981

... FBIS 40TH YEAR 1941-81 ...

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 711

157



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On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

REACTION OF FRANCE, CHADIAN NEIGHBORS TO LIBYAN INTERVENTION

Paris PARIS MATCH in French 2 Jan 81 p 39

[Article by Jean Larteguy: "Robert Galley: 'We Will Help Chad Remain Independent'"]

[Text] Up to this day, in different incursions, the colonel had shown a total lack of organization, improvising as the mood struck him. This had earned him a few defeats in Uganda, where he had to buy his soldiers back, and in Tunisia, Egypt and Malta, where he thought he could take the island. His coalition projects--the last one with Syria--didn't go past the "enthusiastic proclamations" stage.

But this time at Chad, he proceeds with shrewd strategy, according to remarkably well established plans and a calendar to which he remains faithful. It's to be wondered if we have to deal with the same Qadhdhafi or if he is not entirely advised by his friends from the East? "The main thing is that Hissein Habre is finished," Thiam Tidjani told me, Paris representative to Chad's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmat Acyl, the Libya man. He was at Chad to defend the combined interests of France, Egypt and Israel. He could not even resume his adventure in the gravels of Tibesti. His route had been intercepted. His men have taken to the taste of luxury. They even smoke Dunhill cigarettes. The best ones have been killed. And who will want them? Who will want to give him weapons? Sudan? Nimeiri already has a hard time holding his own. Sadat? He has stopped helping them, seeing that they lost.

Peace cannot be made unless this dangerous adventurer is eliminated. He has had his turn. He has been crossed out of the framework of history. Never again!"

--Meanwhile, Libya's help was needed to bring about victory.

--Only about 100 counselors and certainly sophisticated armament.

--What other counselor would do? Tomorrow it will be Niger's turn, isn't that right?

--What Qadhdhafi wants to do, we know nothing about. We asked for his help. He gave it to us. I can only assure you that we, Chadians, haven't any designs on our neighbor, Niger. We wish nothing more than to rebuild our country with the help of France and the West. It's in your interest, as well as in ours not to leave us alone in the face of Qadhdhafi and his friends from the East.

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Whatever it may be, the colonel has realized his dream: Master of Chad, at last.

And this is only but the first victory. Others should follow and Niger will fall in turn.

It's president, Colonel Kountche who, nevertheless, did the impossible to maintain excellent relations with Qadhdhafi, up to the point of handing over to him all the uranium he demanded, today cries the loudest and says: "Niger will be the Libyan colonel's next conquest."

It is difficult to see, indeed, how his small army could oppose Qadhdhafi. Unless France...But nothing is less sure.

All African countries are worried about the new Soviet push under the Libyan guise, for instance Mobutu, who came to voice his worry in Paris, Central Africa, Cameroon, Nigeria, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, where Houphouet-Boigny uses very strong language to describe Giscard's policy of "abandon." Tunisia is also worried and is sending troupes to the Libyan frontier. And Algeria, in turn, is afraid after the organization of the new Mauritian government was made public, a government entirely in the hands of the POLISARIO a POLISARIO increasingly pro-Libyan and decreasingly linked to Algeria.

In Paris, accused of improvidence, softness and, worse, of having signed secret accords with Qadhdhafi, one seems to take Ndjamea's downfall philosophically.

Mr Robert Galley, minister of cooperation and provisionally charged with National Defense, told me: "We couldn't remain at Chad. We were bound by the Lagos agreement, signed by the 11 factions. All demanded the departure of our troupes. They were limited to 650 men who could not make that much difference anyway, especially not in resisting the Libyans. Even the southerners, who today deny it. And they were the ones who made the loudest noise. We held nothing but the airfield in Ndjamea and could you see us refuse authorization to the Libyans to land there, and Goukouni, to boot, the legal President?"

These words remind me of what an African friend told me: "We have a certain way of demanding you to leave, which is also a way of asking you to stay. Those who know us well understand what I'm saying."

It seems that this was the case of Mr Journiac who disappeared in a plane crash, not the case of his successor who would have taken rash initiatives by his own authority.

"But no," the Minister tells me. Individuals did not matter. The loss of Chad? But, is it lost? I believe that the Chadians have such a national feeling that they will know, if they're helped, how to maintain their independence. And we count on doing that....I can assure you that there is no uranium in the Aouzou strip or in the Tibesti. On the other hand, I assure you that there is oil in Chad and that the Americans have found it. Whatever happens, France doesn't risk the lack of uranium. In Gironde, a deposit has just been found which will produce 1,000 tons a year. The ton has gone from 480 sterling pounds to 330 pounds.

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"Has Niger already been crossed off?"

"Niger isn't truly threatened," states Mr Galley. "And Qadhdhafi is not tied hand and foot by the Soviets as is claimed. The Russians tend to increasingly introduce themselves in Africa as we do, less to conquer than to take economic positions and dispose of their old military equipment."

President Mobutu, passing through Paris should make us part of his worry: "After he seized power in the Aouzou strip, everyone was aware of Qadhdhafi's sights on Chad. I don't interfere in French affairs, but I think that France shouldn't have left Chad. To me it was a very serious mistake. In getting out, you know very well that the Libyans would replace you. Now that the deed is done and France cannot return anymore, we should strongly and rapidly set up a Pan African force, where Central Africa would be represented to replace the Libyans who should be required to leave."

"What can France do?"

"France shouldn't repeat the same mistake again. It should manifest its determination to defend the sovereignty of its friends, without being, for all that, the police of Africa."

"Militarily?"

"In case of need."

"Why then, have the Soviets just built a runway for heavy cargo planes as in Mali, Mopti, Gao and now in the North of Benin?"

"This type of airfield, lost in the middle of the desert, costing a fortune, is good only for military stopovers en route to the Cape. They have no commercial or tourist value whatsoever. Personally I think, as do the majority of African leaders, that the conquest of Chad by the Libyans and their Soviet allies is a serious defeat for France, the West, the moderate African countries, which trusted them and all Maghreb, which complains about socialism or royalty. All it takes is a look at the map. Qadhdhafi is not the wild child Nasser and Sadat talked about. Today, guardian angels watch over him."

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

EYEWITNESS GIVES ACCOUNT OF CONDITIONS IN NDJAMENA

Paris PARIS MATCH in French Jan 81 pp 38-39

[Article by special correspondent Patrick Forestier: "Qadhdhafi's Islamic Legion Enters Ndjamena"]

[Text] Peace reigns in the ruins of Ndjamena. President Goukouni's troupes, supported by Qadhdhafi's Islamic Legion entered a city deserted by its defenders and also by its inhabitants. Not even a single structure hasn't been riddled by bullets or shells in the remains of buildings that can still be seen here and there. But Mig bombs and artillery fire from T 54 and T 55 Soviet tanks have, despite it all, spared the Great Mosque. And, it is there that President Goukouni went to pray to celebrate his victory. In this manner, is achieved for the moment, a fight which has lasted since 1969: "Since that day," told us President Goukouni, "Libya has never spared any effort to bring its supplies and moral support to the aid of Chad's people. Chadians and Libyans are linked by blood ties and geographic location and will fight together to the death." In fact, Qadhdhafi is the true architect of the victory. This victory is set down in a massive strategy by which he counts on ensuring his domination of a vast empire, extending from the Sudan to Mauritania and which could even reach to Maghreb.

The clash of arms has stopped. Ndjamena was pulverized by the 122mm rockets of Stalin's organs [WW II multi-barrelled soviet rocket launcher]. For 9 months Chad's capital has been the theater of a fratricidal fight which set Goukouni's GUNT [Transitional National Union Government] against Hissein Habre's FAN [Northern Armed Forces]. During this fight 7,000 men have fallen where Libyan tanks turned the tide of battle. Hissein Habre sought refuge in Cameroon after signing the "cease fire" at Yaounde. He abandoned his men without even letting them know. But, only six of his men died on the day of Ndjamena's fall, 400 were taken prisoners. The victors were merciful. "They are our brothers," declared Goukouni. "They were betrayed by Hissein Habre."

President Goukouni is now master of Chad. During a press conference, eight months ago, he had said: Either it is necessary to liquidate the northern armed forces or, the northern armed forces liquidate the current government, if they are capable of it. Hissein Habre is an obstacle to all national reconciliation. It is necessary that the victor who will rule the country emerge from these battles and the fighting will go on till then." This young chief, no more than 30 years old, has never been to France. However, he has said: "I have nothing against the French people. It's the return of colonialism that I fight against." He has nothing of the theoretician,

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hardened in a fanatic doctrine and, he has often been accused of being soft. Could he have won without Qadhdhafi's aid? It is doubtful. But, here are the Chadians with their Soviet equipment. And, everything leads us to think that Qadhdhafi--whose qualities as a war chief were, up to now, suspect--was well counseled by experts from the USSR and East Germany.

"It's Kabul That Comes to Mind In Ndjamena"

The plane grazes the trees before landing on the runway. Minutes after, the noise of its turbines resound on Ndjamena. Innocently I ask the driver who is taking me into town: "Who owns that plane? I didn't know the airport was open." He tells me: "It's a private plane. A Boeing 737. It brings food supplies." It's useless to ask other questions. I wouldn't obtain a different answer. But, I still risk one more. One never knows: "Could you take me to the airport?" Answer: "It is not possible." The government official who accompanies me is very nice. Glibly he explains to me the nine months of war which have destroyed Chad's capital during which 7,000 men died during fratricidal combats which set Hissein Habre's FAN forces against Goukouni Weddeye's GUNT coalitioned forces, a coalition essentially formed by his soldiers, the FAP [People's Armed Forces], Col Kamougue's southerners and Ahmat Acyl's pro-Libya Arabs.

One word remains taboo: "Libyan." As if Chadians were ashamed of a victory that only half belongs to them. As if the word "Libyan" were synonymous of devil, to the extent of not saying it too loud, especially in the presence of a journalist.

Nevertheless, the Libyans are there. And quite comfortable. In the Diquel neighborhood, a soviet T 54 tank was destroyed. On the other hand, downtown, through the car's dirty windows I notice a patrol division: Long haired in their dark-green, ill-fitting uniforms, marching double step by the roadside, "kalashnikov" in hand. From their gait I thought that they belonged to the "Libyan jamahiriyyah," this famous Qadhdhafi islamic foreign legion, whose mission is to conquer Sahelian countries. The day before, two Libyans, no weapons, strolled along General de Gaulle Avenue, Ndjamena's Champs Elysees. But those two, short haired and in impeccable uniforms, belong to a regular unit. With their round, wide-brimmed hats they only resemble the Soviets lately found on Kabul streets.

Kabul also comes to mind when, hours later, I see at close range the plane that had landed. Parked in front of the control tower, it is not a Boeing 737 but a huge Soviet four turbine Antonov, almost similar to the American Galaxie. In Kabul the Russians unload trucks, jeeps, provisions, weapons and ammunition. How can we believe that here, at Ndjamena, the same thing isn't happening? Not far from the Russian plane, an American Chinook type "banana" painted in camouflage green and unregistered, takes off. Thanks to these planes Col Kamougue was able to transport 600 men from the south to Ndjamena. In front of the hangars of the military airport, two Armed Air Chadian DC-4 planes wait for their cargo to supply Faya-Largeau, Sarh or Abeche, Hissein Habre's ex-home base, also fallen into the hands of "legality."

Some Libyan Soldiers in Goukouni's Escort

Officially, the airport is closed. The entrance near the barracks is barred by a camouflaged Libyan command-car. Here and there, along the road, covered by the

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underbrush a detachment of white tents is lined up. It is Ndjamenas Libyan camp. Another portion of effective troops provided by Tripoli is installed at Donguia, 60 km from the capital, where a new runway has been layed out. It is around these bases, upstream of the Chari river, first set up by the French army, that the majority of the heavy Libyan equipment was deployed: Stalin's organs, canons, surface-to-surface missiles, Soviet assault tanks, which have annihilated Hissein Habre's troops, are camouflaged, either under nets, the shade of tree branches or dispersed in the swampy field under cover of high grass.

In the manner of the Soviet troops in the Afghan capital, Libyan troops remain entrenched in their encampment, not mingling with the inhabitants. Meanwhile, last week, I noticed some Libyan soldiers in President Goukouni's escort.

One morning I crossed the Chari river. On the Cameroon side of the Chari, a line of dusty vehicles and trucks waited to board the ferry. It is a large crowd. Some carry, either a great bundle or an old "mobylette," (light motor cycle) when not huge wood boxes. Suddenly, a whistle blows on the Chadian side. Crouched in the canoe I try not to move to avoid rocking the boat. The boatman paddles furiously against the current, then, in the middle of the river he lets himself drift. As soon as the barge arrives the passengers jump onto the beach, mingling with the colorful crowd. Since the end of the war, the traffic is intensifying between Cameroon and Farcha, Ndjamenas westside suburb, the only place where crossing is allowed.

After a couple of yards we were stopped by three policemen of Chad's Sûreté. While these officials are examining our passports closely, we argue well over two hours before a slow 504 "Protocole" came to fetch us. As we walk through Ndjamenas, traffic becomes very fluid. We cross a barricade without incident. A hut, which serves as guardhouse is surrounded with filthy mattresses. From time to time ragged fighters search a vehicle. Farther on, a French Cascavel machine-gun, made in Brazil, under license--Libya's gift to the coalition forces--appears abandoned on the side of the road.

Our first stop is at what remains of the "La Tchadienne" hotel. The walls are riddled by bullets. Most windows are shattered. Various shells have destroyed some of the structure. A fire blackened the walls of the night club. A shell tore up the ceiling. We left at 12:30 hours and rejoined the President at the Great Mosque, little damaged by the fighting. The streets are practically deserted. And so, Goukouni's escort marches smartly in front of the 604 black presidential limousine with the flying blue, yellow and red flag. A jeep full of armed fighters clears the road. A Toyota follows, armed on the back with a 14.5 mm double-barrelled machine-gun, which was the number one weapon used during Ndjamenas battle. Destined at the beginning for anti-air combat, it was used in the streets by the fighters. Not a house or cob-wall in the African neighborhood could have resisted the shooting tempo and the fire power of this Soviet weapon.

A Video Camera Registers The Event

At the end of the procession, four vehicles follow, filled with fighters, standing on the foothold, "kalashnikov" in hand, scrutinizing the immediate area. The mosque

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is almost full. Goukouni and Hamid Moussai, headquarters commander for the coalition army take their places on the first row. Hundreds of worshippers, dressed in white and carefully aligned, sit behind them on oriental red carpets. Ndjamen's imam, having sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, a mullah intones the "sourates"---Koran verses--- immediately repeated by the whole congregation.

In praying at the mosque to celebrate his victory, Goukouni wanted to refute his adversaries who accuse him of not siding with the flag of Islam. A Libyan television crew carefully films the event with a video-camera. At the end of the ceremony, some applaud the victor of Ndjamen's battle. The city is, in reality, three-quarters empty. In the European suburb, worse hit, there is no living soul around. The Charles de Gaulle avenue is obstructed by two trees which have fallen on the pavement. The "Vogue" theater, UTA [Air Transportation Union] offices and the bank are nothing more than rubble. It is here that the front line passed, for nine months. On one side, Goukouni's FAPs, sheltered along the river inside the structures of the president's mansion, fired thousands of cartridges trying to take this camp. Under cross fire from the beginning, the cathedral burned down. To dislodge FAP fighters entrenched in the interior, FAN soldiers shot phosphorous shells on the building. Three tanker trucks, blackened by fire obstruct Felix-Eboue avenue, where the second front line was located. Here, the adversaries often faced each other across only 30 meters.

But it was at Sabangali, no doubt, that this war attained its utmost atrocity. At about 100 meters from Hissein Habre's house, hundreds of skeletons and corpses lie, half decomposed, on the banks of the river's backwater. In a narrow gully, cadavers are packed together. Farther on, in front of a gallows with five nooses, five skeletons are carefully lined up. From 150 prisoners who were being held by Hissein Habre, only about 40 of them were found. The others have disappeared. But since then, tongues have loosened. One person recalls entire families being massacred, such as the family of the rich merchant Djeillal, executed because two of his sons fought with FAP, while their father refused to financially support Hissein's cause.

"With this type of reprisals, Hissein could hardly maintain discipline," a member of FAP headquarters told me.

Hissein Habre sought refuge in Cameroon, after signing the ceasefire at Yaounde. "On the day of Ndjamen's fall there wasn't any fighting," says a witness. All FAN soldiers surrendered. Their conquerors arrested them and then put them in a truck. Four hundred enemies were made prisoners. The most recalcitrant got kicked or got their ears boxed. There were no massacres or revenge. "Hissein betrayed them, but they are our brothers," say FAP victors. Victors, thanks to the formidable fire power placed at Goukouni's disposal by Qadhdhafi.

The week that preceded the city's downfall, bombings had an intensity never before attained. During the whole war in Cameroon, if French doctors received a few injured FAP soldiers, they were flooded by the injured sent by the FAN zone.

Today, Libyan Antonovs, piloted by Syrians or South Yemeni land at Ndjamen every-day. They bring 36 ton T 54's and T 55's to Chad's capital.

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Before leaving Ndjamena I met a Libyan television crew on the steps of the President's villa. It had just interviewed Goukouni: "We have come to record the help in the form of food and medication for the children given to Chadians by the Libyan people."

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

TOWARD REESTABLISHMENT OF EAC

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 36

[Text] An important Ugandan delegation headed by Prime Minister Otema Alimadi proceeded to Kenya just after Christmas for the purpose of meeting responsible people of the country on the normalization of bilateral relations and on a possible reestablishment of the EAC (East African Community) which had included Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania before it split up in 1977.

Uganda, which has not outlet to the sea and whose economy is completely disorganized, is essentially interested in normalizing its relations with Kenya especially for its exportation of coffee and tea, but Kenya is equally interested in acquiring Ugandan products which represent an appreciable source of revenue for that country.

In fact it is to the advantage of these three countries whose economies are very dependent on each other to resume good relations and they seem convinced of this fact.

President Daniel arap Moi who received the Ugandan delegation on 27 December, had already in the past, favorably welcomed the election of president Obote, although this election sullied by irregularities and strongly supported by Tanzania, had at the onset not precisely been to his liking.

The principal obstacle to the reestablishment of the Community is of an ideological order, Kenya having always displayed its liberalism in economic matters and its ties with the west, while Tanzania maintains a socialist system inspired by the Chinese pattern. President Obote, before his eviction by Idi Amin Dada, had attempted to follow Tanzania's example, and what is more, he lived in Tanzania while in exile. But he does not seem to be anxious to follow the same trend, and president Nyerere himself, facing some of the failures in his policy, appears to be prepared to come to terms with his neighbors.

Certainly many contentious matters remain to be solved between the three countries in view of the break-up of the Community. However, the reestablishment of this Community seems possible now. Some feel that financial assistance of about \$100 million furnished by industrialized countries could contribute to its making a good start and to its operation.

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TABLIGBO CEMENT PLANT INAUGURATED, FINANCING REVIEWED

[Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Jan 81 p 194]

[Excerpts] Mr Paul Gui Dibo, Ivorian mining minister and chairman of the board of directors of CIMA0 (West African Cement Company), on 14 January, in the presence of Messrs K. Dogo, Togolese planning and industrial development minister, Maurice Seri Gnoleba, Ivorian minister of commerce, J-P Ansah, Ghanaian minister of industry, science, and technology, and Vincent Bulla, Ghanaian minister of commerce, inaugurated the regional cement complex at Tabligbo where work had begun 4 years earlier.

The cement complex is located 80 kilometers northeast of Lome, the capital, between the Mono River and the Tabligbo--Aneho Highway. The plant covers a surface area of about 35 hectares. Exclusive rights to mine the limestone were granted to CIMA0 for two squares with a size of 3 kilometers each (Ordinance No 37, 4 December 1975). New concessions will be granted later on.

The standard output capacity right now is 1.2 million tons per year, with two lines; there is a possibility of increasing this figure to 1.8 million tons by adding a third line or 2.4 million tons by doubling the facilities. The plant uses the dry method and the indicated electric power output is 17 Mw.

CIMA0 was established on 18 December 1968 between Togo, Ivory Coast, and Lambert freres et Cie which pulled out in December 1974.

After the withdrawal of the French company and due to the obligations demanded by the World Bank to link up with a sufficiently experienced cement company group to provide technical support, CIMA0 registered the participation of Societe Origny-Desvroise. Ghana joined in April 1975, along with the Cement Company of Ghana, as well as SCA (Abidjan Cement Company) and that made it possible to increase the CIMA0 company capital to 19.3 billion francs CFA [French African Community], 92 percent of which are held equally by the three countries (Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo).

The treaty establishing the regional cement complex for West Africa was signed on 12 December 1975 by the presidents of the three promoting countries which together and in unison guaranteed all of the long-term and medium-term loans needed for the construction of the industrial complex.

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The total investment amount comes to 68 billion francs CFA broken down as follows:

For the industrial complex: 52 billion CFA, including 17.8 billions as a special financing effort on the part of the three countries (Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Togo) in the form of capital stock participation. The difference was contributed through international financing institutions (\$116 million): the World Bank (\$60 million), the European Investment Bank (\$24 million), the African Development Bank (\$12 million), the Central Economic Cooperation Fund (\$10 million), the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (\$10 million);

The necessary support facilities are being financed (\$70 million) by the Togolese government with the help of international organizations such as KfW (West German Reconstruction Bank) with \$22.9 million, the European Development Fund with \$20.5 million, the Canadian International Development Agency with \$13 million, and the African Development Bank with \$4 million.

According to its chairman, Mr Paul Gui Dibo, the CIMA0 board of directors is to start negotiations with money lenders with a view to financing the second division of the plant. Considering the fact that the plant's output currently is only 1.2 million tons and that the requirements of the three CIMA0 stockholder countries have been estimated at 2 million tons of clinker, it is expected that the plant capacity will doubled to bring it up to 2.4 million tons.

Ghanaian Industry, Science, and Technology Minister J-P, Ansah suggested other ways in which the countries of the subregion could promote their economic cooperation. "In Ghana," he said, "we are ready to participate in any viable regional undertaking which we might be invited to join. Thus, the vast phosphate deposits of Togo can serve as a basis for a regional fertilizer industry. The immense iron mineral reserves of the Nimba Mountains in Liberia, of Sierra-Leone, and of Guinea can be developed to constitute the backbone of our regional economic growth. The bauxite reserves in Ghana and the huge gold mines can be exploited together for the well being of our people. The costs and the technology pertaining to the paper pulp industry are such that this industry would grow best on a regional basis."

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ANGOLA

DOS SANTOS ON ANGOLAN, AFRICAN ISSUES

London AFRICA in English Feb 81 pp 28, 33, 35

[Interview with Eduardo dos Santos by Marcelino Komba, date and place not given]

[Excerpts] **A**T an Extraordinary Congress of the ruling MPLA-Workers' Party held in Luanda last December, Angola's leadership took time off to review the state of the socialist revolution since the last congress in 1977. Of special concern was the performance of the country's economy, but as the Central Committee of the party pointed out in an incisive and voluminous report to the 450 delegates, there wasn't much to cheer about in that respect.

The degree of success that Angola will achieve in this new attempt at economic and social reconstruction will very much depend on the style of its leadership as well as on the degree of stability that can be attained, particularly in southern Angola. In the first case, many observers inside Angola believe that President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, who was confirmed by the Congress, has the determination to pull his country out of the present economic lethargy. But much will depend on the support he gets from his colleagues. As for stability, this may only come when Namibia is free as **PRESIDENT JOSE EDUARDO**

DOS SANTOS told General Editor MARCELINO KOMBA in the following interview:

Over recent years we have consistently denounced

armed attacks mounted by the racist South African army from the illegally occupied territory of Namibia. We have also denounced the support given in arms, money and especially the logistic support for the training of armed bands in illegally occupied Namibia by the South African army. Of course, this situation has resulted in extensive material damage to our republic, and has caused the death of thousands of Angolans.

Many economic targets have also been destroyed, including industrial and agricultural installations, schools, administrative buildings, and so on. And, naturally enough, this situation has had some effect on our ability to meet some of the targets set at the MPLA's first congress for the economic and social reconstruction of our country.

Q: For many years Africa has been a pawn in the continuing game of superpower rivalry. What have you to say about the ceaseless attempts being made to parcel the continent into spheres of influence designed to serve the interests of these powers?

In our view a distinction has to be made between the western powers who aim to recolonize the continent and regain lost ground, both politically and economically, and the other powers who, evidently in the opposite direction, support people who are trying to maintain control

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over their own destinies and benefit from all advantages made possible by their political independence. Clearly, we will struggle to defend not only our own people and the Angolan people's interests, but also the interests of the African peoples as a whole. And we shall always oppose the attempts of imperialist powers to recolonize, neo-colonize or balkanize our continent.

Q: What is Angola's attitude towards the moves currently being made to establish and strengthen foreign military bases along the Indian Ocean coast?

A: We believe that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace. In terms of our constitution and as a non-aligned country, we condemn foreign military bases in our territory. In a similar way, we also condemn the creation of foreign military bases in our continent. But here we make a clear distinction between cooperation agreements drawn up between any two countries or group of states in order to solve problems of development, organization, training and so on, and on the other hand bases set up as a result of alliances with certain aggressive military blocks in order to facilitate their overseas military interventions.

Q: One of the main obstacles to Africa's rapid political and economic development has been the lack of serious and dedicated attempts by African countries to solve their common problems together. Given this, do you think that the Organization of African Unity is doing enough to see that there is meaningful unity of purpose and action among its member states?

Obviously, Africa as a whole includes countries with different social systems. As a result there cannot always be the same points of view on tackling many of the questions involved in economic and social development. Nevertheless, within the principles of peaceful coexistence, it has been possible to find a framework which allows for commercial exchanges and material economic cooperation between different states, first of all at a regional level, and subsequently at a continental one and I think the experience so far is encouraging. Certainly in southern Africa there is already a legal framework that was established at the

Lusaka meeting. On the basis of this legal framework concrete steps have been taken towards expanding co-operation between the independent countries of southern Africa.

Q: Mr President, one of the most common ways of changing governments in Africa over the years has been through military coups and counter-coups. In fact there have been two such takeovers recently — in Guinea-Bissau and Upper Volta. Do you think this is the correct way of ensuring Africa's political stability? What in your opinion would you consider an acceptable way of effecting such change?

A: Well, we certainly can't prescribe recipes for changing governments in Africa. That is not our job, nor would it be our wish. We would like to see an Africa that is stable in all senses — political, military, economic and

social. Of course, each African country has its own internal problems, and it is up to each sovereign state, each people, to find the means which, in the given circumstances, they believe the most appropriate for resolving those internal problems. We believe that problems should always be solved through popular participation. It is the popular masses, especially those that make up the majority in our African countries, the peasants and the workers, who in our view ought to play an important part in solving the problems, be they of a political, economic or other nature, that the different African countries face.

What one can see is that in those countries where political changes happen, these are not necessarily in the interest of the popular masses. Usually it is certain social groups,

especially some kind of elite within that society, that seizes power, not in order to defend the interests and aspirations of the popular masses, but often, under foreign influence, in order to secure the continued domination of our peoples.

We think that the best way to solve these problems is to make a revolution. And that is what we are doing, carrying out a revolution that grows deeper day by day, because its roots are deep in the popular masses, in the concerns

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and aspirations of the peasants, the workers and of all the patriotic sectors who wish to see our country completely free, politically and economically, and be developed into a prosperous society in which each and every one will feel themselves to be participating in the whole process of economic and social development. ■

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BURUNDI

BRIEFS

ALGERIAN JOINT COMMISSION MEETING--The work of the first meeting of the Algeria-Burundi Joint Commission was carried out recently in Bujumbura. It resulted in an agreement on the development of economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between the two countries. The Algerian delegation was led by the secretary of state for foreign commerce, Mr Ali Oubouzar, who was received by President Bagaza. The Burundi delegation was headed by Minister of Education Maj Pascal Ntamashimikiro. The Algerian side of the commission notably agreed to increase the quota of scholarships offered to Burundi for the year 1981-1982 and committed itself to welcoming interns from Burundi to receive training and upgrade their skills in various fields. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 pp 37, 38] 9347

ROMANIAN DEPUTY MINISTER'S VISIT--The Romanian deputy minister of mines, petroleum and geology, Mr Ion Popescu, paid an official visit to Burundi in December. The purpose of Mr Popescu's stay was to examine with Burundi officials the activities of the Romania-Burundi joint corporation Somiburom and the modalities of cooperation in other sectors of mining operations. Somiburom, created in September 1978, began its activities in May 1979. It is charged with establishing an inventory of mineral deposits in Burundi and with exploiting some of them. It also supervises prospecting for petroleum. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 38] 9347

FARM MACHINERY FROM DPRK--The ambassador from the Democratic Republic of Korea to Burundi, Mr Sin Dyong-chol, recently handed over to the Burundi minister of agriculture, Mr Etienne Baradandikanya, a consignment of Korean farm machinery, a gift from President Kim Il-song to the Government of Burundi. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 38] 9347

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CAPE VERDE

BRIEFS

EEC ELECTRICITY ASSISTANCE--According to an agreement signed on 13 January by the Committee of the EDC, the EEC will finance the increase in the power output of the electric power plant at Praia, Cape Verde; a subsidy of 350,000 ECU will be granted out of the fourth EDF. Praia, located on the Island of Santiago and turned into the country's capital at the time of independence, is an area of major population growth and heavy urban expansion is envisaged here parallel to the development of the port and the hotel accommodation capacity as well as the creation of some industries. The government has decided to extend the electric power distribution network here but this requires boosting the power plant, which is the purpose of this project. The EDF funds will permit the supply and installation of a 730-kva electric power generating group, a transformer, and related equipment items, as well as work connected with the enlargement and improvement of ventilation at the transformer station. This work will be done under government supervision while the supply and installation of material and equipment will be covered by direct supply contracts. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Jan 81 p 191] 5058

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COMORO ISLANDS

BRIEFS

FRENCHMAN'S VISIT--Martin Kirsch, counselor at the Presidency of the French Republic for African and Malagasy affairs made a private visit to the Comoro Islands from 22 to 25 December 1980. He proceeded to the Anjouan and Moheli islands and journeyed on to visit some of the regions of the Grande-Comore. During his stay Martin Kirsch was received in audience by President Ahmed Abdallah, who gave a dinner in his honor and decorated him with the Order of the Comoran Green Crescent and the rank of "grand officer." Martin Kirsch continued on his journey to visit Reunion and Madagascar. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 Jan 81 p 150] 7993

ECONOMY IN 1980--1980 has ended. If it had not been for the worrisome economic situation resulting from the slump in the sale of oil of ylang-ylang and the pressure which the western importers are seeking to exert on the price of vanilla, a very vital product for the state and the rural population, this year would have been a very good year. Clove production amounted to about 1,250 tons, and its price held its own. Domestic peace, serenity in the cities and villages, good public health on the whole and good feelings with the neighboring states reigned over the social climate all year long. Diluvian rains in May and November, of course caused some damage in the substructures, but the country did not lack anything. In Comoro the last weeks in 1980 were marked by the technical tours of Ahmed Abdallah, president of the Republic, in the regions of Anjouan and Moheli stricken last 29 and 30 November by rain and floods, and in Grande-Comore by visits to the highway yards in the Oichili and Dimari regions where the main circum-insular road network is being built by the Colas group, a French company, with Saudi financing. During these visits the chief of state conversed with the people on the subject of their present problems especially concerning bridges and foot-bridges, schools, water conveyance, playing fields, etc. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS 16 Jan 81 p 150] 7993

NATION'S BUDGET--On 31 December 1980 the Federal Assembly voted the 1981 budget for the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoro Islands. This budget is established in revenue and expenditures in an amount of 3,180 million Comorian francs, an increase of 364 million (+12.9 percent) over the 1980 budget, only for operational expenditures. In addition, the budget for equipment is established in an amount of 950 million Comorian francs for 1981 [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Jan 81 p 150] 7993

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CONGO

PRESIDENT SEEMS TO BE LIVING UP TO PEOPLE'S EXPECTATIONS

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 31 Dec 80 p 227

[Article by Sophie Bessis: "The Mood of a Lucid Public"]

[Text] Enormous and arrogant buildings stand massed on the other side of the river; in the evening, the lights are lit and the illumination culminates on Mount N'Galiema, where President Mobutu resides. There is nothing comparable on the Congolese side of the river. Brazzaville, the former capital of the AEF [French Equatorial Africa], continues to maintain the pace of a provincial town which is slowly growing, without upsetting its habits very much. Even in the center of town, low lying houses, separated by immense green spaces, dominate the scene.

From each side of that administrative district, where the remnants of colonial architecture recall the torments of the past, stretch out the two lungs of the downtown section: the suburbs of Poto Poto and Bakongo, the real capitals for leisure, music...and politics. A paradox? Hardly. One of the favorite leisure activities of the Congolese is, after all, talking politics. Among this population, which is almost 100 percent literate, and in which each individual thinks he has the soul of an intellectual, having seen many presidents come and go, and having gained from that experience a solid pragmatism in the face of difficulties, the art of discussion, of analysis, of commentary, has reached a high degree of perfection.

The nature of the regimes which have followed one another since the fall of Abbe Fulbert Youlou in 1963 ("The running dog of imperialism," according to official terminology), has reinforced this natural tendency: we know the importance accorded by Marxist-Leninism, and the parties which espouse it, to words and speeches, arms which are as important as action; all the governmental teams have tried their hardest on this score in the area of revolutionary rhetoric. Well remembered here are the marathon speeches of Massemba Debat or of Ngouabi, praising the virtues of scientific socialism in order to prepare the shining future of the Congolese proletariat.

In spite of the large official slogans painted on the walls of the capital, the town really remains skeptical, since the changes have been long in coming. While awaiting better days, in the evening, over numerous beers, they discuss the

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changes in the team in power, the chances of this man or that one, the "fall" of another, etc. And most of all, they laugh at everything. "Live in austerity today in order to live better tomorrow," proclaims a poster in giant letters. The residents of Brazzaville say jokingly: "Live in austerity in Poto Poto in order to live better in M'Pila."

It is in that fortunate suburb that have been constructed the residences of most of the members of the CMP, the Military Committee of the Party, nicknamed "the basin rises to power" by the people of the Pool region.⁽¹⁾

Right in the center of town, in front of a portrait of Che Guevara, imposing matrons get out of a minibus marked with the initials of the Revolutionary Union of Congolese Women. "Here are our broad popular masses," snickers a bystander. All events from the most serious to the most ordinary, are passed through the sieve of a healthy derision.

Does that mean that the Congolese does not take anything seriously and is uninterested in the affairs of the country? Not at all. He judges his leaders by their actions. Thus, the enthusiasm and the "nice guy" side of Marien Ngouabi acquired for him undeniable popularity, even if people did not hesitate to find fault with the economic mess into which he had thrown the country. Colonel Yombi Opango was on the other hand feared and often despised by those who reproached him for his love of power...and material wealth.

As for President Sassou Nguesso, he has not yet finished his probationary period before public opinion. For the moment, his realism and his desire to revive the economy please the Congolese, who are tired of more than 10 years of revolutionary uncertainty. By progressively repudiating certain political and economic choices made by his predecessors, by beginning a discreet rapprochement with the West, the present chief of state seems to be responding to the expectations of a good many of his compatriots.

But a word of caution. No one is safe from jeers. The one they called "penniless and without funds" when he arrived in power knows that he will be judged in the bars. That is part of life and the Congolese like life more than anything.

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(1) The southern, richer and more populated part of the country has not always looked favorably upon a takeover by the military, who come from the Congo basin, which is poor and isolated, in the northern part of the country.

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ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

USSR SCHOLARSHIPS--At the end of December, the USSR granted scholarships to 400 Ethiopians for the 1981-1982 school year. The students will be trained in various scientific fields in Soviet institutions. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jun 81 p 38] 6445

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH USSR--At the end of December, the USSR and Ethiopia signed scientific cooperation agreements in the areas of energy, water resources, meteorology and agriculture. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 38] 6445

DELEGATE TO CUBAN CONGRESS--Last December Legesse-Asfaw, a member of the Ethiopian Derg, visited Cuba where he represented his country at the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. He was greeted by President Fidel Castro and other officials with whom bilateral cooperation problems were discussed. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 38] 6445

FAO FOOD AID--The UN/FAO (PAM) World Food Program is planning to provide 10,000 tons of wheat to Ethiopia in order to help the country overcome shortages resulting from drought. The wheat is intended to feed 278,000 people for 3 months. The emergency aid programme, approved last December by Mr Edouard Saouama, head of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), will cost \$2.7 million including transportation. The current total of the PAM aid to Ethiopia now amounts to 25,000 tons of wheat. This emergency assistance is in addition to an equal amount of food rations delivered to Ethiopia within the "Food-Work" development projects between July and December 1980. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 Jan 81 p 149] 6445

AGREEMENT WITH SUDAN--The universities of Addis Ababa and Khartoum signed an agreement on 9 January promoting the exchange of scientific research materials. This agreement is in keeping with the reconciliation process started last year between Ethiopia and Sudan. As indicated in the Ethiopian capital, the exchange will take place especially in the agricultural medical, social, scientific and linguistic sectors. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 149] 6445

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MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH PAKISTAN--Basant Rai, Mauritian minister of commerce has recently been visiting in Pakistan. After his arrival on 8 January in Islamabad, he met with his Pakistani counterpart, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, with whom he discussed the possibilities of increasing the economic cooperation between the two countries in the industrial and commercial sectors. Rai who came to the Pakistani capital at the head of a delegation of three people, expressed his wish to promote industrial relations with Pakistan "which can be of great assistance to Mauritian industrial development," he said. The Mauritian mission was very interested in the purchase of large quantities of Pakistani rice. The last deliveries of Pakistani rice to the Mauritius island had amounted to 12,000 tons. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 16 Jan 81 p 150] 7993

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MOZAMBIQUE

PORT, RAILROAD TRAFFIC STATISTICS GIVEN

Port Traffic

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Jan 81 p 209

[Text] The National Directorate of Ports and Railroads of Mozambique has prepared the port statistics for the first half of 1980; a comparison is given here with the figures for the corresponding period of time in 1979.

	Ships (Number)		Traffic Volume (Tons)	
	1980	1979	1980	1979
Maputo	461	395	1,909,473	1,895,265
Matola	114	114	1,909,890	2,055,950
Beira	295	394	689,742	830,994
Nacala	99	99	379,824	352,936

We recall that Matola is an annex of the port of Maputo which was built in 1964 to handle liquid bulk fuel traffic and, afterward, bulk mineral shipments.

Railroad Traffic

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 23 Jan 81 p 209

[Text] Here, according to the National Directorate of Ports and Railroads of Mozambique, are the statistics pertaining to passenger and freight traffic for the first half of the current year. A comparison is made with the figures for the corresponding period of time last year.

	Passengers (Number)		Freight (Millions of ton-kilometers)	
	1980	1979	1980	1979
Southern Line	4,721,476	3,699,911	452.2	442.1
Central Line	1,407,093	1,164,576	215	220
Northern Line	887,783	683,271	205.4	188.8

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NAMIBIA

STAKES IN NAMIBIA DESCRIBED

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 5 Jan 81 pp 40-41

[Article by Simon Malley]

[Text] The SWAPO is not the dupe of the major maneuvering which is being readied for the Geneva Conference.

"We are going to the Geneva Conference on 7 January animated by our willingness to negotiate fairly, but we are also totally determined to do everything we can to assure for our people an independence which is not artificial and to put an end to all prevarication and all maneuvering to permit our country to have peace as soon as possible.

"The suffering and sacrifices endured by Namibian patriots and the entire population to free themselves from the yoke of the South African racists are immense. But our people will never give up. And no one should have any illusions on this score. Let no one expect compromises of any kind from us. We have not laid down our arms, and we will not lay them down so long as our rights to independence and sovereignty are not recognized and respected; so long as our country is the slave of a regime of exploitation, oppression and racism. We have made up our minds to join in these negotiations with a spirit of fairness. But if the South African party uses dilatory arguments and gross maneuvers to fool world opinion and then attempts to make us responsible for the conference's failure—for that is the traditional tactic well known to all colonialists—then Pretoria will find us once again on the field of battle, with the unshakeable will to continue and intensify our war of liberation."

Sam Nujoma, president of the SWAPO, talks with us forthrightly. The evaluations he brings to the situation in his embattled country, and to the regional and international context, are based on long experience with international conferences, contacts, discussions and exchanges of views with many leaders and chiefs of state. He does not overevaluate the Geneva Conference on Namibia in either direction, and the dangers threatening this initiative do not overly disturb him. Of course, he is going to the conference with confidence but not without caution. For he is fully aware of the fact that this round table will give the South African negotiators and some of their allies the opportunity to employ the most varied tactics aimed at making meaningless the independence for which the Namibian people have been struggling for so long. "A so-called independence under the 'surveillance' of Pretoria or its puppets is something we will never accept," Sam Nujoma proclaims in the presence of all his interviewers.

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For the SWAPO leaders, it is clear that the true intentions and objectives of Pretoria basically have not changed. Of course, the racist government finally has agreed to attend this conference which it describes as a "prerequisite meeting" for implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 which provides for a cease-fire, withdrawal of South African occupation forces and installation of a democratic government chosen by free elections supervised by the UN. However, in reality, Pretoria is seeking to gain time, while giving "proof" of its goodwill to the Western powers of the Contact Group (Canada, United States, France, FRG and Great Britain), with the hope that Ronald Reagan's Republican administration "will allow itself to be persuaded to put an end to all pressure on behalf of SWAPO's demands."

Comments made by the principal colleagues of the next American president--including the future ambassador to the UN--are causing the Pretoria leaders to think they will be able to impose a puppet government in Namibia and to intensify their military attacks not only against this country but also against Angola.

In other words, many observers of the South African political scene feel that the objective the Pretoria government will try to attain following Ronald Reagan's entering the White House will be to convince American strategists of the need for transforming Namibia into a military "bastion" designed to weaken not only the popular regime of Luanda but also and above all to set up in the very heart of Southern Africa a series of new air-naval bases, kinds of jumping off points which would permit intervention anywhere "the vital interests" of the West would be considered threatened in this region. Did not a military specialist from the Hoover Institute at Stanford University in California--known for his advocacy of an American hegemonic, imperialist policy--say recently: "Ronald Reagan would be ill-advised, indeed naive, to support a Namibian state whose leaders were trained by Angolan 'communist' troops, with cadres of Soviet and Cuban generals and colonels"? "Namibia," this American military specialist went on to say, "should become a bridgehead in the service of the Western democracies so as to isolate, encircle, weaken and, if necessary, destroy all the anti-Western bastions of Southern Africa."

The European Position

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see how the Geneva Conference could find a viable solution, over the short- or mid-term; how the militarist South African leaders could accept the inevitable independence of Namibia before becoming thoroughly familiar with the future attitude of the Reagan government toward them.

However, other voices are being heard in certain European quarters which are advancing an argument in favor of a more or less short-term settlement of the Namibian problem within the context of a compromise comparable in its broad outline with the one just imposed upon Zimbabwe. These quarters make the following points:

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1. Continuation of the war in Namibia and its possible spread to Angola would keep Southern Africa in a situation of permanent tension and effervescence, which would not fail to be beneficial to the "maximalist and radical forces," not only in Namibia but also in other countries in Southern Africa. Would not a settlement based on a compromise, which not only would give serious guarantees to the white communities of Namibia (German and South African communities, in particular) but at the same time would safeguard the important economic and financial interests of these communities, be preferable to continuation of the present war of national liberation?

2. Would not an alliance between Washington and Pretoria; i.e., between a reactionary Republican administration and a racist and aggressive government, pose the threat of favoring American interests to the detriment of those of Western Europe?

3. In the event the southern borders of Angola are pacified; i.e., in the eventuality that the danger of new South African attacks against the People's Republic of Angola would be attenuated or, better yet, would disappear, the prospect of a progressive withdrawal of Cuban forces from this country could become a reality.

4. Would not a settlement of the Namibian question give the South African government greater freedom of action and maneuver permitting it to concern itself more with its internal problems and most specifically with the uprising of its black populations?

The Geneva negotiations, which will be attended by Western countries of the Contact Group and the front-line countries, will demonstrate which of these two approaches, to the bitter end of compromise, will finally prevail. It should also be noted that in reality what we have here are two points of view which arise out of the tactical situation. For, strategically, the West Europeans and Americans are in complete agreement on the final objective: at all costs continue the plundering of the national wealth of this country of 1 million inhabitants, with considerable resources, and safeguard imperialist interests, no matter what government is in power tomorrow in Windhouek.

The fact remains that tomorrow it will also be up to the Namibian combatants, under the leadership of the SWAPO, to force their oppressors to accept the political and economic decisions they will make when they have won their independence.

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NIGER

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC ROLE OF SAMARIA NOTED

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 31 Dec 80 p 225

[Article by Sylviane Kamara: "Samaria Solidarity"]

[Text] A single party or a multiparty system? A false problem. National assembly, constitution? What good are they? Elections? "We can get 99.99 percent of the votes," points out Commandant Moumouni Djermakoye Adamou, minister of Youth, Sports and Culture, "but we prefer to have the country make its choice on the kind of society it wants as the result of nationwide consideration."

Niger is certainly a strange country, for which the year 1981 will mark a turning point. Actually, it was at the beginning of this year that the national commission, which had been formed in 1980 to define its choice of society, will present a program for political, economic, social and cultural development. Participating in this commission are representatives of all socio-economic levels, women's, youth and workers' associations from the seven departments of Niger.

What is this "developed society" going to look like? For the moment, it is a question. But it is certain that there will be no early return to the structures (assembly, parties) which were abolished by the coup d'etat of 15 April 1974.

On the other hand, President Seyni Kountche has stated that the "samaria,"⁽¹⁾ will play a major role in looking after and directing the peasants. Major, because Niger has based its development on agriculture.

The "samaria" is the traditional village association brought up to date. It has already been assigned to a ministry, the ministry of Youth, of course, which furnishes village associations housing and advisers. Mariama, the health officer in Niamey is enthusiastic: "For all actions of any scope on the regional or national level, the samarias are to be included. In the department of Niamey, with material provided by the state, the associations have built 11 youth centers, 48 mosques and dug 245 wells!"

(1) Samaria, in Haoussa, means the group of young men in a village.

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Investments have been estimated at more than 1 billion CFA francs--from dues and gifts--obtained by the 10,000 samarias throughout the country. In 3 years, 4,000 young people planted 1.2 million trees and constructed almost 3,000 classrooms. Countless fields have been collectivized and innumerable cultural and sports events have been organized by the associations. "But the most important thing for me," continued Mariama, "is that the samarias permits Nigerois to get to know themselves better. A young man can travel anywhere in the country, certain of finding a welcome in the village samaria. We have diverse cultures and customs and it is good that we are able to get together."

Nevertheless, in spite of this fine enthusiasm and spectacular successes, there are some problems. Some local authorities and most of the elders are completely uninterested in the undertaking. The treasurer of an association has also stated: "The young people sometimes resent this kind of activity because they want to have a good time doing other things and the work often falls to the adults." There is no definitive statute and no overall program, we are sailing blind. "But the commission for defining the developed society will clarify all that."

Will the samarias be the keystone of a new form of political party? In any case, one can understand the interest shown in them by the authorities since we know that in Niger 55 percent of the population is under 20 years old and 80 percent of the youth do not enjoy the benefits of formal education. By enrolling young people, Nigerois leaders are assuring the stability of a segment of the population which, in other countries, has often been at the root of the most violent protest demonstrations. That is part of the problem, but there is something else and the young people are not fooled. "Niger has been the poorest of the poor, we are changing that and there can be no question of turning back. We want to succeed together."

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NIGERIA

BACKGROUND OF PROBLEMS WITH AL-QADHDHAFI ANALYZED

London AFRICA in English Feb 81 p 48

[Article by Eddie Iroh: "Nigeria Waits for Qadhdhafi's Next Move"]

[Text]

THE climax of the long drawn diplomatic impasse between Nigeria and Libya was not the recent quit order which the former handed to the Libyan 'People's Bureau' diplomatic mission in Lagos. Rather it was the passionate denials of both governments that anything was amiss.

Indeed, less than one month before the dramatic diplomatic hiatus, Libyan Foreign Minister, Abdulsahim Ali Treiki, beaming with smiles at the end of a three-day 'goodwill' mission to Nigeria, told newsmen in Lagos that 'the relationship between Nigeria and Libya was cordial and tight.' So tight, in fact, that Treiki claimed he had 'successful discussions' with Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari and External Affairs Minister, Ishaya Audu, on Nigeria-Libya relations. But if relations were that 'cordial and tight', some observers have asked, why the sudden bilateral talks?

Not long before Treiki's good will mission, a Libyan military aircraft, violating Nigeria's airspace during a clandestine arms shuttle to the strife-torn Republic of Chad, had been detained by Nigerian security officials at the northern border airport of Maiduguri. But widespread outcry against the incident was answered with explanations by Defence and External Affairs officials that the aircraft had been examined and been found to mean no harm. In spite of general scepticism, the plane had been released.

Thus, some Nigerians insist, it was their Government's rather benign negligence of Libya's military adventure in the neighbouring Chad — a military presence that was viewed by many as too close to Nigeria's borders for 'cordial relations' — that led to the Shagari administration's later protests against Gaddafi's Chadian gamble.

Gaddafi's self-imposed role of continental messiah and the ideology of a new social and economic 'philosophy' may have passed without much more than quiet displeasure in Nigerian Government circles expressed through polite diplomatic channels.

But some critics have pointed to Gaddafi's recent bitter accusation that Nigeria was mistreating the Tuareg-Arab refugees that had flocked to Nigeria from war-torn Chad.

It was not surprising therefore that there was a near-unanimous condemnation of the recent announcement of a Libya-Chad merger by transitional President Queddei of Chad and Gaddafi. The Shagari Government described the merger as 'unfortunate and premature', and a breach of the Kano and Lagos 1979 accords which accorded the Queddei Government a 'transitional' status. Most Nigerians denounced the pact which brings Libya's revolutionary fundamentalism to Nigeria's northern border. To a large extent, said a University of Lagos lecturer, Idowu Shobowale, 'Libya is a threat to Nigeria by merging with Chad'. Appraising the unanimity of the public outcry, as well as the Government's sudden realization of a Libyan threat, Nigerian Television's Network News chief, John Chiahemen, quipped that 'perhaps what Nigeria needs — for a virile and vigilant posture — is an enemy at its border'.

But if the Libyan presence in Chad posed a border threat, not so the recent religious riots in the ancient Nigerian city of Kano which some Nigerians linked with Libya. The Kano riots, the most bloody uprising in Nigeria since the end of its civil war

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eleven years ago, was led by an itinerant Moslem fanatic named Muhammed Marwa (alias Maitatsine).

Armed with sophisticated weapons and bows and arrows, Marwa and his followers had gone on a week-long rampage against those they called 'infidels' in a kind of modern-day 'jihad'. Their objective: the take-over of Kano city and the installation of a fundamentalist Moslem authority. Claiming some 1,000 lives, by unofficial estimates, the riot cost millions of naira in lost property and compelled President Shagari to draft a brigade of the army to quell the riot.

While a judicial panel appointed by Shagari in the aftermath of the riot is yet to find proof of Libyan or any outside involvement, Gaddafi's choice of time to convert his diplomatic mission in Lagos from an embassy into a 'People's Bureau' — part of a world-wide conversion that began last year — was hardly sensitive or sensible. Less than a fortnight after the bloody Kano uprising, and while Nigerians were still counting their losses, the Libyan ambassador in Nigeria, announced the embassy change, which included his re-designation as Secretary of the People's Bureau.

The Nigerian Government's reaction was sharp and swift. The External Affairs Ministry declared that the conversion of the Embassy into a People's Bureau 'without consultation' was totally unacceptable and gave the mission 48 hours to fold up its operations. Lagos quietly put its mission in Tripoli on the alert. Nigerians applauded. Even the Federal Government-owned *New Nigerian* newspaper broke its studied silence over Libya and gave its rather low-key support to the Government's firm action, adding 'it is heartening that diplomatic relations have not been cut. The channel thus remains open for us to continue to persuade Libyans of the unacceptability of their actions in Lagos.'

That may appear so. And the Federal Government statement did indeed insist that it will 'continue normal diplomatic relations with all friendly countries, including Libya'. But only on the basis of 'well-recognized diplomatic practice, particularly the Vienna Convention'. But it is hard to see how the tenuous link existing now in theory can survive. At least by the account of the departing diplomats from Libya, Nigeria's objection to the conversion of their Embassy to a People's Bureau 'amounts to interference in Libya's internal affairs'.

Still, at least from the point of view of Lagos, the next move regarding the future relationship between the two countries will have to come from Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. ■

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NIGERIA

BRIEFS

NEW PORT FACILITY CONSTRUCTION--According to Federal Minister of Transports Alhaji Umaru Dikko, the government is contemplating construction of a deep water port specifically designed for trans-shipment operations, at a location as yet undetermined. The facility would be used to serve other African ports, and the Nigerian Ports Authority considers that this would be a practical way to get profitability from the large stock of unused containers. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

NEW CONTAINER-SHIP SERVICE--The Medafrica Company, whose headquarters is in Genoa, inaugurated a new monthly container-ship service between northern Europe and Nigeria, with a stopover in Dunkirk, last December. The first ship on this new line is the "Uta Sabine." The company, which is represented in the French port by the company Worms Services Maritimes, will serve Lagos and Port-Harcourt where it owns its own terminal facilities. The starting points in Europe are Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Felixstowe. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

FISHING HARBOR IMPROVEMENT--The British-financed Nigerian company Westminster Dredging (Nigeria), Ltd has signed a 6-million-naira contract with the federal government for improvement of the fishing harbor at Boroki, near Port-Harcourt, in the state of Riveres. The project includes: dredging of a channel, construction of a landing pier and ship-maintenance workshops, installation of refrigerated warehouses, and construction of water-purification facilities and an ice-making plant. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

ANIMAL FODDER PLANT CONSTRUCTION--An animal fodder plant is to be built at Liorin for the Kwara State Agricultural Development Corporation by the British engineering company Capital Plant International, a subsidiary of the British company Mitchel Cotts. The plant, with a production capability of about 10 tons per hour, will be outfitted by Christy and Norris of Chemsford, in Great Britain. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

NEW PHOSPHATE DEPOSITS--The Geological Studies Department of the Federal Government of Nigeria has recently discovered indications of new phosphate deposits near Umuahia, in the state of Imo. Similar indications were found some time ago in other regions of Nigeria, particularly in the states of Oyo, Ondo and Ogun, but exploitation has not begun up to now. It is believed

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that because of the priority currently placed on agriculture, the government may decide to begin exploitation of these deposits soon. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

PLASTICS PLANT PROJECT--The Femo (West Africa) Ltd firm has just signed a contract with the British company Spooner Industries for the construction of a plastics plant at Eruwa, about 40 kilometers from Ibadan. The plant should be capable of producing some 16 million square meters of plastics a year in the form of floor covering, furniture, automobile furnishings and luggage. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

NAIL FACTORY CONSTRUCTION--The firm of C. Moore Obioha and Sons Company has just signed a contract with the West German firm Wafioig for the outfitting of a 6-million-naira nail factory to be built in early 1981 near Aba, in the state of Imo. The firm will be known under the name of Moore Nail and Steele Industries, Ltd. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 83] 6445

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REUNION

PROS, CONS OF AUTONOMY DISCUSSED

London AFRICA in English Feb 81 pp 40-41

[Interviews with Elie Haorau of the Reunion Communist Party and Serge Sinamale of the Movement for the Liberation of Reunion--dates and places not given]

[Text]

WHAT status should Reunion acquire? This small island in the Indian Ocean with 500,000 inhabitants, has been ruled as a French 'Overseas Department' for over three decades. In recent years, however, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has described it as 'African territory' and an OAU Liberation Committee special sub-committee met in Dar Es Salaam last October to discuss the alternatives to the island's present status. The OAU has already given unconditional support for self-determination for the people of Reunion.

But the various political parties in the country are divided over Reunion's future status. The Anti-colonial Front for the Self-determination of Reunion (FRAPAR), which groups several movements including the Reunion Communist Party (PCR), wants autonomy for the island because of its 'specific make-up'. The Movement for the Independence of Reunion (MIR) — which includes among its organization the Movement for the Liberation of Reunion (MPLR) — demands independence. In the following interviews, leaders from the two sides explain their positions to AFRICA. The first interview is by Elie Haorau of the PCR and the second by Serge Sinamale of the MPLR.

'We Favor Self-Government'

AFRICA: The PCR favoured Reunion becoming a 'French Department' in 1946, but now it is questioning this status and calling for 'democratic and popular' self-government within the French Republic. How do you explain this change?

HAORAU: The PCR was created in 1959, and from that date, it denounced the colonization of the island — dressed up since 1946 as a French overseas territory. So, right from when it was formed, the PCR has favoured a new status for Reunion: self-government.

Q: When one speaks about decolonization of colonial territories, one thinks on the whole of independence. Does independence alarm the PCR?

A: When we speak about decolonization, we think of a hard battle in which the masses of our country should be engaged. Decolonization comes about by them and for them. To decolonize truly, all the people have to be involved in a long, difficult battle armed with an anti-colonial plan mapped from a concrete analysis of a concrete situation.

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The situation in Reunion is not that of any other colony. It is peculiar to the island. You only have to come here to see that. If you fail to take into account this peculiarity and automatically attempt to apply to Reunion the analyses and methods that 'succeed' in other countries, you ignore the scientific analysis of the situation, and in any case, head straight for failure. That is not to say that you should not learn from the experiences of other peoples.

Q: In terms of the electorate, the PCR has never gained more than 40 per cent of the votes cast. But you seem utterly confident that if the people of Reunion were given the choice, they would opt for autonomy.

A: You should understand that the elections on Reunion are basically rigged. But being the largest party on the island, we are convinced that if the elections took place under normal conditions, the PCR alone would gain the absolute majority of votes. However, our aim is not to collect 50 per cent of the votes at the elections. We want to assemble the men and women of Reunion into a broad majority front with the aim of leading their country themselves.

Q: The PCR is reproached for being somewhat ambiguous over the problem of French troops on Reunion. If Reunion became self-governing, would you demand the withdrawal of these troops whose presence is felt by neighbouring countries to be a threat to peace in the Indian Ocean?

A: You are right to raise this problem which in fact extends beyond the boundaries of our island. In our region at the moment there is a consistent anti-imperialist struggle because of the need to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. That implies, among other things, the disappearance of the bases, free movement of trade in the Indian Ocean, the reduction (until the

complete disappearance) of the 'isles of war', the banning of nuclear stockpiling. As for the troops of the French Army who are stationed here in great numbers, the PCR has not waited for self-rule for Reunion to denounce this situation and call for their withdrawal — and everyone knows that. So, the PCR's position is not at all ambiguous. ■

'Independence Is the Only Solution'

AFRICA: The MPLR advocates independence. But, how do the people of Reunion really perceive this proposal?

SINAMALE: Several years ago, the word 'independence' was taboo in Reunion. Now, even if the majority of the islanders do not accept the idea, people are beginning to talk about it — and that is what is important. Whether on the right or left, everyone is talking about it. They have to take into account the movement for independence that exists in Reunion, which was not the case a few years ago. Our struggle is directed towards making the people understand that independence is the only solution and that it alone will bring radical change to Reunion.

Q: But, for its part, the PCR says that you only need self-government to decolonize Reunion....?

A: Self-rule is a bastard solution. You have to understand what Reunion means for French imperialism. Our island is a ready market for French products; it is also a reservoir of cheap labour for the metropolis; and it is a strategic base. If Reunion is underdeveloped, it is because French imperialism wants to keep our islands in this state. So, in demanding self-government, they are misunderstanding this imperialism. They believe that it is generous, and that it will send us money to industrialize the country so that there will be no more unemployment. It is a delusion to believe that tomorrow, under self-government, France will give us the credits to develop our country.

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Q: Could an independent Reunion stand on its own feet economically?

A: Of course. If Reunion became independent tomorrow, we would not live in luxury. We would take into account the reality — its economic surroundings, its situation as a Third World country. Reunion is part of the Third World. It is a question of mentality. At the moment, there is luxury and waste. We must make people understand that we will have to live differently, to move towards self-sufficiency.....

Q: You seem so convinced in the justice of your platform?

A: Our platform is following the course of history. You can slow down the wheels of history, but you cannot stop history. ■

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SIERRA LEONE

RIPPLES FROM MARGAI'S DEATH REPORTED

London AFRICA in English Feb 81 pp 39-40

[Text]

THE death of former Prime Minister Albert Michael Margai in the US at the end of last year ended twelve years of exile in Britain and several years of political rivalry and struggle with President Siaka Stevens' All Peoples Congress Party (APC). Born in the Moyamba District town of Gbagbantoke in October, 1910, the late Albert Margai founded the Peoples National Party (PNP) together with Siaka Stevens to oppose his late brother, Milton Margai's Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) just before independence in April, 1961. After some fierce power struggle for the leadership of the PNP, Stevens broke up with Albert to form the APC in 1962 only months before the post-independence General Elections.

The SLPP won the elections and Albert Margai's opposition PNP quickly merged with the SLPP and his brother, Prime Minister Milton, appointed him to the key cabinet position of finance. Milton was approaching his 68th birthday in 1964 and his health had been causing considerable concern for some years. It was evident that he could not stay on much longer as Prime Minister. There were quite a few heirs to the leadership including M.S. Mustapha, John Karefa-Smart, Kande Bureh and Albert Margai. When Milton died on 28 April 1964, his brother Albert was appointed as Sierra Leone's second Prime Minister.

However, there were protests from within the SLPP as well as from the APC over Albert Margai's appointment as Prime Minister. But he moved swiftly to consolidate his new position. He dismissed from his cabinet SLPP members like Mustapha, Karefa-Smart, Y.D. Seasay and S.L. Matturi and detained APC firebrands like Siaka Stevens, S.I. Koroma and S.A.

Fofana. But the dismissal of the four Ministers turned out to be a political blunder as it caused considerable dissatisfaction in the country which did not turn out well for Albert. There 'Albert of Africa', he had, from his student days in Britain, identified himself with the nationalist cause in Sierra Leone. He had proved himself able and efficient in each of the Cabinet positions he had held between 1951 and 1961. His patriotism, his anti-colonialist posture, his boundless energy and his efficiency had won him the support of many of his people. Above all it was recalled that he had been leader of a party which had eschewed tribalism.

Promise

What led to the downfall of the 'fighting cock', as Margai was sometimes called, was his reneging on an earlier promise. Albert Margai had time and again reiterated his commit-

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ment to the multi-party system and to the need for both a government and an opposition in Sierra Leone. On 8 April 1964, less than a month before assuming office as Prime Minister, he had declared: 'When the time comes in Sierra Leone that the Government lacks opposition, that will be the time some of us will pack our bags and quit politics'. Yet, by mid-1965, the former Prime Minister, goaded by a number of his supporters, was beginning to beat the one-party drum and extol the virtues of the one party state.

Towards the end of 1965 he began to make statements which appeared to blur the distinction between his Party and the Government inferring that the Government and his ruling Party were synonymous and that the Government was not above the Party. By December that year he maintained that the poverty and suffering of the people of Sierra Leone could only be alleviated by a one-party Government and he made it clear that he was determined to introduce such. By early 1967, the ruling party, the SLPP, had introduced a motion in Parliament asking Government 'to give serious consideration, to the introduction of a unitary (one-party) system of government in the country. This move was extremely unpopular and was opposed by Siaka Stevens' APC.

Albert Margai underestimated the overwhelming opposition to his call for a one-party government. The result being that at the 1967 General Elections, his party was voted out of power. After a brief controversy over the election results, Margai fled into self-exile while Stevens became Prime Minister after a brief military rule. When news of Albert's death reached Freetown in

December, President Siaka Stevens summoned his cabinet to an emergency session. Student asked the Government to give the former Prime Minister a state funeral. The Government agreed and Stevens told the nation that apart from a state funeral, he would personally take responsibility for all expenses incurred during the burial. But a few days later, Fourah Bay College students marched

through Freetown demanding to know why the Government had allowed Margai to die in exile.

The strained relations between Stevens' Government and the university students once more resurfaced when students clashed with riot police, the university being closed down in the process. There are unconfirmed reports that Stevens and Margai had on several occasions met privately during Stevens' occasional visits to Britain. At these meetings, according to some sources, President Stevens had repeatedly urged Margai to return home. It was said that some feared that if Margai returned home on the Government's invitation, Stevens would have offered him a top position. Even so, according to some informed sources, Margai would have rejected the offer and supported opposition, in which case he would have found himself willy-nilly the mecca for anti-APC forces.

Margai's death has given some old guards the opportunity to resurface and attack the Government. In the United States and Britain, self-styled opposition leaders are still debating whether Margai's death should be used as an occasion for them to return home and set up a coordinated opposition to the APC Government. Whatever the outcome of these debates, President Stevens' Government seems determined to deal firmly with what one APC insider called 'these opportunist detractors'. ■

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UGANDA

OBOTE DISCUSSES SECURITY, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, POLICY

London AFRICA in English Feb 81 pp 14-17

[Interview with President Milton Obote at presidential offices in Kampala by Editor-in-Chief Ralph Uwechue: "I Want Broad, Moderate Policies"; date not given]

[Text]

UWECHUE: Mr. President, following the restitution of democracy in Uganda, your party, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), was returned to power in the elections held in December last year. In the two months that your Government has been in office, what have you identified as the major problems confronting your country?

OBOTE: During the short period that my Government has been in office we have identified what actually we knew before. There are two basic problems facing Uganda; in our view each one tends to feed upon the other. There is the matter of security, and second there is the problem of very low production and provision of services. Now because of lack of goods, commodities of one kind or another, people who have got guns tend to rob other people using force. And because of insecurity there is very little provision of services and very little production. However there are other aspects of the two matters, and one can say that both of them arose out of the mismanagement of the country during the time of the military regime from 25 January, 1971, to April 1979.

From April, 1979, up to recently not much actually happened in Uganda. During that period we had what one might call a very broad coalition administration consisting of various groupings. Although these groupings in the open showed an image of good democracy, internally they were fighting against one another at the expense of the country. So these are the two basic problems facing Uganda: one, security throughout

Uganda because when Amin's people were fleeing they left a lot of guns everywhere, second, there is the question of poverty. So we are tackling these matters from the beginning.

Q: What programmes, both short and long-term,

has your administration formulated to resolve some of these problems?

A: Well, on the economic aspect, we are concentrating on the productive sector. Right now Uganda is being sustained in terms of foreign earning by coffee alone. So we are working on a programme, which will be announced when Parliament meets in February, for the rehabilitation of tea and cotton production as well as other commodities, food stuffs and otherwise. Then we want to rehabilitate the factories, the ginneries, road as well as rail transport. That is, in general terms, what we see as our immediate programme on the economic sector.

On security, we have embarked on the training of a new police force. We shall expand this force by training vigilante groups; these groups are basically going to be voluntary but their members will receive some form of payment. Each group shall work within its own locality. We shall also be bringing under the Police Act all other persons recruited by private firms to look after their property. We shall give them some training and amend the Police Act so that they will have police powers.

Q: One of central themes of your election manifesto was the pledge to restore the peace and unity that have eluded Uganda for nearly a decade. What

measures has your Government set in motion to reconcile the nation?

A: The basic point and the basic consideration in the policy of reconciliation really arises out of the fact that during Amin's time thousands upon thousands of Ugandans were murdered and there are widows and orphans in every part of Uganda. One of the reasons why Amin stayed so long was the fact that some of those who were implicated in those murders were not necessarily Amin's supporters and they tended, therefore, to feel that with the change of government they would be

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made to suffer for their crimes. Now, we say this: if there is evidence that someone committed a crime of murder, that person should be dealt with by the courts and not politically. So we are pursuing a policy of reconciliation in order to make the people of Uganda understand the value of human life.

At the time of the war of liberation, there were fears amongst the Moslem community that they would be murdered merely because they were Moslems; there were fears amongst people from West Nile in the north that they would be murdered merely because Amin came from there. These murders have not taken place and we are making it certain that people understand that the Moslems did not commit any crime as a community, that

the people of West Nile did not commit a crime merely because Amin was born in the West Nile. And this, within one month, has been taken very well by the people of Uganda to the extent that the people from West Nile who had fled to the neighbouring countries, have begun to come back to their homes. So reconciliation is going on very well, very well indeed.

Q: In this context, it seems obvious that the extent to which you will be successful in restoring law and order will depend upon the efficiency of the Police and the Armed Forces. What plans does your administration have for the re-constitution of the Uganda Armed Forces? What role, if any, will the remaining

Tanzanian forces or any other countries play in the reconstruction of the Armed Forces?

A: I think the first thing that the people of Uganda want to know or to observe as being done is that the armed forces perform their traditional role — that of defending the country from external aggression. I am glad to say that we have no fears at all from any of our neighbours; we are at peace with all our neighbours. Consequently, since the formation of this Government, we have returned the army personnel to barracks. They are no longer patrolling the towns; they are still helping the police in manning and mounting road blocks but that is a temporary measure. They will leave that job also to the police.

Now regarding the Tanzanian Army, they are here primarily for training the new Ugandan Army. We have inherited a very peculiar situation in that at the time of liberation we had no army of the Government to ensure security for the people of Uganda. The role of the Tanzanians here primarily is to train the Uganda Army and they are doing it very well ... because we now have really 10,000 trained soldiers and we are now concentrating on training officers.

Q: In the final years of your last administration, your domestic policies were based upon the objective of leading Uganda towards socialism. Is it still your conviction that the path of socialist development is the only rational choice for Uganda?

A: Uganda today is in a very difficult situation. We have a problem with established standards of performance by

the public service and by businessmen. The high standards we used to enjoy by the public service and in business are no longer there. During Amin's time, particularly when he expelled the Asians, he turned much of the economy into the hands of people who knew nothing about business. And he turned some of the big enterprises into Government parastatal bodies. All of them, private and parastatal, have been terribly mismanaged. Consequently, we have rampant corruption in Uganda.

We felt that the best way of reviving the economy of Uganda is to pursue policy whereby all persons who are genuinely interested, have the ability, have the energy, have the funds to be invested in rehabilitation, should be given the opportunity to do so. The Government will concentrate first on guidelines and, secondly, on managing the little within the parastatal sector that we would not

want to hand over to the private sector. And these are fairly few; for example we have the Uganda Development Corporation, we can't hand it over because it would disturb the whole thing, the whole image of Uganda. Obviously we can't hand over Uganda Hotels, electricity and the railways. So we will concentrate on such matters.

But with other enterprises we will be proposing policy whereby either Government goes into cooperation with private enterprises or we sell some of them to persons who want to buy them. In this connection, our policy right now is that those Ugandans who left this country for one reason or another, irrespective of their colour (particularly Asians who are Ugandans) are free to come back and take over the management of their enterprises. So right now, we are really starting from scratch and there is no ideological basis for what we are doing.

Uganda is in the fortunate position where we are able to produce our own food; this food is not produced by big enterprises but by peasant farmers: I do not know whether that is capitalistic or socialistic. I don't know but I would want to encourage the peasant farmer to produce as much as possible, to produce their food, to produce export crops. We would also like to encourage the cooperative movement to compete with others in the fields of the economy but we are not going to prevent anybody who wants to invest money, energy, skill, technology in the rehabilitation of Uganda.

Q: Mr. President, within a few weeks of taking office you held talks aimed at re-establishing normal relations between Uganda and Kenya with President Moi. You are now also hosting here in Kampala a summit conference of the presidents of four states, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. It would appear that you are taking very seriously the question of regional corporation. Can you tell us a little more about this and what plans and aspirations you have for reviving regional cooperation and unity in East Africa?

A: Cooperation is really a two way street; on our own we cannot bring about greater co-operation in East Africa. The other countries have to play their part and I am happy to say that each one of them is interested in recreating the kind of, at least, political cooperation which we used to

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have before the tragedy of Uganda of 1971. We in Uganda believe that, with this kind of mutual political understanding, economic co-operation will come. And some form of greater contact in other fields will also develop. So the meeting we are having this week in Kampala is in reality an exploratory meeting but with great potential.

Q: Relations between two of the former members of the East African Community, Kenya and Tanzania, have been strained for sometime. What role, if any, do you see yourself playing in bringing about a rapprochement between the two countries; given the fact that the normalisation of relations between them is an important pre-requisite for economic and political co-operation in East Africa?

A: I do not know to what extent one would say the relations between Kenya and Tanzania have been strained. I do know that the border between the two countries has been closed and, I do also know that the Presidents of Kenya and Tanzania have always been in contact. I would want to believe that beginning from the meeting in Kampala this weekend any element of strained relations will be eased, and I do not now speak in terms of opening the borders, but I would be happy to see

that border opened. I think the meeting itself is a positive development and if we all handle its results well, there should be no strained relations between any of the four countries meeting in Kampala this week or between them individually or collectively with any other countries in this region.

Q: Mr. President, under your leadership, Uganda played a very active role in pan-African affairs. And, indeed, when you were overthrown from office in 1971 you had emerged as one of Africa's leading opponents against Western collaboration with racist South Africa. To what extent will Uganda, which is now a member of the UN Security Council, participate in pan-African and international affairs? Will the pressing domestic problems that you face not inhibit you in this regard?

A: No. We have our dignity to sustain. We agree with the late President Nkrumah. Uganda's independence, as he said of Ghana's, would be meaningless so long as South African racists continue to oppress Black Africans in that country. So together with other member states of the UN and OAU we shall follow a vigorous policy of opposition against the racist regime of South Africa.

We shall be an active member of the OAU in promoting the development of Africa. We shall play our role effectively in the Non-aligned Movement and we shall, now that we are members of the Security Council, represent Africa in the international community effectively. The present situation in Uganda will not inhibit us because we have gone so low that we can't go any lower. In speaking for ourselves, for Africa and for humanity throughout the world, we shall not be involved in

vendettas against any country. It is not countries that we shall be condemning, if we are to condemn anything, it is policies that we shall be condemning.

Q: On a more personal note, Mr. President, you have the rare distinction of being the first African leader to be overthrown in a military coup and restored to power through the ballot box. Have the nine years of exile changed you in any way and what lessons have you learnt which you would wish to share with other African leaders?

A: It is a question which is difficult to answer because I can't advise other African leaders that they should be overthrown, go into exile, behave as I behaved and hope to come back through the ballot box. That one I can't do. But I saw Uganda from outside before I joined politics (that was in the fifties). I came back and saw Uganda from inside for a number of years and I was active in politics and I came to lead the Government of Uganda for nearly nine years. Then I went out involuntarily and I saw Uganda again from outside. But all the time I was growing; maybe it is a matter of age, maybe its my understanding of the mass destruction of Uganda. Now I want to follow broad, moderate policies. I want to follow moderate policies.

And if I would advise any of my brother Presidents and upcoming politicians anywhere in Africa, I would say to them: let the people speak, listen and try to do what they want. Second, try to serve the people who have elected you. And keep your hands short; don't interfere with the finances of your country. In other words don't seek political office in order to enrich yourselves. I am sure that if the Amin regime had discovered that I was corrupt, neither President Nyerere nor the people of Uganda would have had anything to do with me. ■

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UGANDA

BRIEFS

CANADIAN COBALT EXPLOITATION CONTRACT--At the end of December, the Canadian mining concern Falconbridge signed a contract with the new civilian Government of Uganda providing for exclusive exploitation of the country's cobalt deposits, valued at between \$800 and \$900 million a year on the basis of about \$20 dollars to the pound. The deposits are located in the western part of the country, in the vicinity of the Kasese copper deposits which were mined in the past by the same concern. It is also planning to resume exploitation of these copper mines. According to the contract, Falconbridge is also to build a cobalt smelting plant to be operational in 1983, a sulfuric acid factory and a fertilizer plant, the latter two within 18 months at an estimated investment of about \$45 million. The contract specifies that the copper and cobalt production will be the property of the Government of Uganda. The Canadian concern will only receive the exploitation rights, about which no details have been disclosed. The whole western part of Uganda is considered rich in minerals, and besides cobalt and copper, it has in particular nickel. Falconbridge is to begin operations in 1981. The Canadian company to which the new government so readily opened its arms, probably to correct the country's financial situation as rapidly as possible, had been partly nationalized by the previous Obote government before being totally confiscated under the Idi Amin Dada regime. The latter government had paid compensation of \$2.5 million, which seemed ridiculously low compared to the revenue at the time, and will be even more so compared to future revenue, which is anticipated to be very substantial. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 37] 6445

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UPPER VOLTA

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN UPPER VOLTA

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Jan 81 p 81

[Article: "Recent Components in the Economic situation"--Passages between slant-lines originally published in boldface]

[Text] The BCEAO (Central Bank of the Western African States) devoted one of its latest economic and monetary statistics reports on Upper Volta.

The /principal commercialized agricultural/output of the 1979-1980 season yielded 77,520 tons of /cotton-seed/(an increase of +17,503 tons over the preceding season) which furnished 28,715 tons of /cotton fiber/ (+8,716) to the cotton gins, 40,061 tons of /karite/ (+32,818 tons) and 4,002 tons of /sesame/ (-249 tons).

In value the cotton seed harvest represented 4.3 billion CFA (+ one billion) and karite's contribution, (the purchase price of which was raised at the beginning of the season from 23 to 24.50 CFA per kilo) yielded one billion CFA (+0.8 billion).

During the first 7 months of 1980, the /consumption of hydrocarbon/ shows a clear increase over the corresponding period in 1979. Statistics for railway traffic of and on the Ivory Coast and of the /Ouagadougou airport/ traffic date back to 1979. The same applies to the index of the turnover in commodities of the principal commercial enterprises.

At the end of April 1980 the /general price index/ for African family consumption was established at 230.9 as against 207.9 at the end of June 1979 (on the basis of 100 determined for 1980).

During the first 6 months of 1980, /duty and taxes/ collected by the customs service totaled 9.8 billion CFA (of which 94.5 percent for imports), an increase of 1.4 billion CFA over the first semester of 1979.

The /budget/ for the /1980/ fiscal year was established in revenue and expenditures in an amount of 40.2 billion CFA, an increase of 3.5 billion over the preceding one which in resources included foreign contributions in an amount of one billion CFA (nothing in 1980). Credits for equipment cover five billion CFA (+0.9 billion).

The /foreign debt/ incurred as of the end of December 1979 represented the exchange value of 52.1 billion CFA, as against 37.1 billion the previous year. /Administrative

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costs required/ (interest and amortization) totaled 1.7 billion CFA (1.4 billion in 1978). The margin available on credits obtained amounted to the counterpart of 29 billion CFA at the end of 1979, a reduction of 3.1 billion as of the end of 1978.

On 31 May 1980 bills and currency in circulation totaled 18.8 billion CFA (+3.6 billion at the end of May 1979). /Volume of deposits/ (at call and at maturity) in the banks represented 33.4 billion CFA at the end of May 1980 (+2.2 billion at the end of May 1979), of which 30.9 billion in deposits from the private sector (private individuals and enterprises) and 2.4 billion deposits by public organizations. One year ago apportionment was in an amount of 21.5 billion CFA for private accounts and 9.7 billion CFA for public accounts. In addition on May 31 1980 /credits to the economy/ totaled 56.5 billion CFA for utilization, a comparable level to that of May 1979.

The net positions of the public treasury on the local plan on 31 May 1980 showed a debit balance of 2.2 billion CFA (of which 5.2 billion for participation of the issuing institute) against a credit position amounting to 0.9 billion one year ago.

Finally, /the net situation/ of Upper Volta's foreign assets represents the exchange value of 4.1 billion CFA indebtedness at the end of May 1980.

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ZAIRE

PRESIDENT MOBUTU PREDICTS ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Jan 81 p 89

[Text] President Mobutu Sese Seko announced on 5 January that a plan to revive the economy would be launched in 1981, and he stated that Zaire had won the bet on economic and financial stabilization.

The Zairian chief of state, while receiving officials' New Year wishes in the Palace of the People, reiterated that the Executive Council (government) predicted for this year a selective liberalization of prices. On this subject President Mobutu declared himself very pleased with the decrease in the rate of inflation, which did not exceed 50 percent in 1980, as against 110 percent in 1979.

An economic revival constitutes the third phase of the "Mobutu Plan," the first two phases of which consisted of a reorganization of management and an economic and financial stabilization. Priorities in this revival will be in the sectors of agriculture, transportation, mines, energy, and public health.

Furthermore, 1981 seems to be the year when social problems will occupy first place in the life of the nation. The chief of state reiterated that the country "has no political problems to resolve, although there are those who try to create some in the heart of our society."

Finally, alluding to the question of the 13 commissioners of the people (deputies) who were compromised in a subversive affair, the chief of state expressed the view that "tolerance, far from constituting a weakness of the state, is justified in our country by the necessity of democracy and the rights of free expression." No commissioner of the people has ever been harassed because of his opinions or his votes expressed in the context of his parliamentary activities, said President Mobutu.

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ZAIRE

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT, PARTY ORGANIZATION

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 2 Jan 81 p 34

[Article: "Instruments of Power After Constitutional Changes"]

[Text] In the course of 1980 we gave several fragmentary reports on constitutional changes in Zaire. To summarize the situation, on 15 November 1980 President Mobutu Sese Seko, with the approval of the Legislative Council, promulgated law 80-012 amending the constitution. The main innovations contained in this law, consisting of 55 articles, deal with the powers of the president of the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution] and the components of the party.

According to Article 9 of the constitution, "power emanates from the people, who exercise it through the president of the MPR--who is by right president of the republic--and through the other components of the MPR, or through a referendum."

The components of the party are increased from five to eight. These are, in order:

1. The president of the MPR, president of the republic (currently President Mobutu Sese Seko).
2. The Congress.
3. The Central Committee (121 members).
4. The Political Bureau.
5. The Legislative Council.
6. The Executive Committee.
7. The Executive Council (government, with Mr Nguza Karl-I-Bond as first state commissioner).
8. The Judicial Council.

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The MPR Central Committee

It will be recalled that the Central Committee, essential instrument in the new structure, is presided over by President Mobutu Sese Seko and includes the following: first vice president, Mr Nsinga Udjuu Ongwakebi; second vice president, Mr Weregere Bingwa; permanent secretary, Mr Kithima bin Ramazani; first recording secretary, Mrs Kikontwe Tumbwe Amani; second recording secretary, Mr Mboso Nkodia.

The Central Committee has several commissions, including an Economic and Financial Commission, presided over by Mr Nyembo Mwana-Ngongo and comprising several subcommissions: economy and finance (president, Mr Munga wa Nyasa); agriculture and rural development (president, Mr Litho Moboti); industry and commerce (president, Mr Mabika Kalanda); transportation and communications (Mr Lengelo Kuyangandu).

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ZAIRE

BRIEFS

BELGIAN ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AID--To supplement the article on Belgian aid to development published in MTM 28 November 1980 (p 3139), the following details can be given, according to parliamentary documents. The Belgian share of the aid to the "Mobutu plan," evaluated at 1.26 billion francs, is distributed as follows: loans from state to state, 400 million; capital equipment, 363 million; technical aid (urban transport, customs, etc), 497 million. Furthermore, 88 million Belgian francs in credits are included in the budget under the heading of agriculture. Moreover, a "transfer fund" has been created to facilitate the purchase, in Belgium, of raw materials, spare parts, and capital equipment indispensable to Zairian enterprises, and thus to the economy of the country. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Jan 81 p 89] 9347

IDA AIDS SUGAR PRODUCTION--The International Development Association (IDA, a subsidiary of the World Bank) has just granted Zaire credits of 20.2 million SDR [Special Drawing Rights], that is \$26.4 million, to finance a project for increasing the productive capacity of the Kwilu N'Gongo Sugar Company from 40,000 tons to 65,000 tons a year. It will be recalled that last November the French Central Fund for Economic Cooperation had already granted two loans totalling 115 million French francs for this same project (see MTM 14 Nov 80, p 3040). [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Jan 81 p 89] 9347

ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT COMPANY--The Department of Energy is currently seeking investors who are prepared to collaborate with the National Electric Company (SNEL) in the creation of a company which will utilize local clay in the manufacture of insulators. The purpose of the project is to make it possible for SNEL to progressively reduce its imports of capital equipment. Similar efforts are under way for the production of cables. In the beginning the new company could produce 1,500 tons of insulators a year, for an investment estimated at DM 18 million. An extension of the factory might be used to produce household pottery goods, such as tableware or sanitary equipment. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 9 Jan 81 p 89] 9347

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ZIMBABWE

GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO DIVERSIFY AGRICULTURE REPORTED

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 5 Jan 81 p 42

[Article by Sam Corbin: "Less Tobacco, More Corn"]

[Text] The Mugabe government is undertaking a strategic reconversion of agriculture. One of the objectives: alimentary self-sufficiency.

Seven months after the proclamation of independence, Zimbabwe is struggling with multiple and thorny problems, following the devastating battles and fierce repression of the racist armies: the reentry into economic life of the former guerrillas dispersed across the country and of thousands of refugees, the recruitment of executives and technicians to replace the fleeing whites, the resumption of industrial and agricultural production--including that of tobacco, which was formerly the principal export of the country. This year, for the first time since 1965, the sale of the tobacco harvest at public auction has at last resumed in Salisbury. The lifting of the international sanctions which, without ever having been 100 percent effective, had plainly limited the markets and reduced the profits, has renewed the hopes of the 1500 white growers who have chosen to stay in the country after independence.

These growers have been, on the whole, reassured by Prime Minister Mugabe's moderation and by the spirit of reconciliation that his government has shown in its relations with the members of the white minority. The reprisals so dreaded have not taken place, and they remain, for the present, owners of their land.

But the lifting of sanctions and the adhesion of Zimbabwe to the Lome Convention, which gives it duty-free access to the markets of the European Community, have not had the anticipated results. The prices offered by the buyers in Salisbury were disastrously low, not even sufficient to cover production costs. The essential problem comes from overproduction, on an international scale, of a mediocre-quality tobacco. That is the opinion of Denis Norman, minister of agriculture and one of the two European members of Mugabe's government.

This year, Norman explained during an interview recently granted to the New York Times' correspondent in Salisbury, the harvest was exceptionally abundant, reaching 125 million kg, a figure which has only been surpassed once before in the entire history of Zimbabwe. To this record production must be added the 75 million kg of unsold stock from the preceding year. However, the 1979-1980 harvest was of mediocre quality, because of the drought which hit hard at the country's agriculture.

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But, especially because of a particularly important American harvest, the Western buyers found themselves already with enormous amounts of a tobacco of the same quality as that offered by the Zimbabwean growers. Consequently the prices fell and, at the end of the first two weeks of the selling season, they were no more than half of what the growers were expecting. At that time, the Mugabe government came to the aid of the growers in deciding to offer the merchants loans of 20 million Zimbabwean dollars (about 140 million francs) to permit them to buy this season's entire harvest.

However, that guarantee was paired with two strict conditions: the buyers promised to store the unsold tobacco at least until 1983, in order not to provoke the collapse of prices by flooding the world market; the growers, for their part, has to agree to reduce their tobacco production by 40 percent this year and to continue reducing it more gradually the two following years. Upon announcement of these measures prices immediately climbed 50 percent, and in the end the volume of sales was much higher than the growers had hoped, partly thanks to new and important markets in China and North Korea.

A Necessary Reconversion

From the perspective of the nationalist leaders, the Draconian reduction in tobacco production corresponds to an entire reconversion strategy. It goes hand-in-hand with a program encouraging the growing of corn, the basic food of the black population, shored up by a policy of price support. Starting this year, the acreage devoted to corn will be increased by 40 percent, which will thus compensate for the loss of revenue and jobs due to the reduction imposed on tobacco-growing; a fair number of farmers currently engaged in this production will convert to corn-growing.

This vast operation of reconversion will insure a more solid base to the agriculture of Zimbabwe and will make corn as important an export product as tobacco. At the same time, it will contribute to feeding not only the Zimbabweans themselves, but thousands of other Africans in the regions of the continent so often menaced by famine. The total production of corn predicted for this year could reach two million tons if climatic conditions are favorable.

So tobacco is no longer the king it once was at the time of Ian Smith's racist regime. Before the impositions of the sanctions, it was by far the principal source of foreign exchange stock, and the growers, whose numbers never surpassed 3,000, dominated the economic and political life of the country.

The first government of free Zimbabwe accords priority to the vital needs of the overall African population and no longer to the revenue from the export of a luxury product intended for distant markets.

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